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Paul,
however, does remain throughout life a focus of immunity, as subse- 152.
quent material will demonstrate.* In this connection, a free play episode in which Padafun was the center is revealing. I had brought out to the dance place several balloons, which delighted the children. Padafun, being so small, was pushed repeatedly to the edge of the crowd that clustered around me, but each time he persistently pushed his way in again and held out his hand, saying, "Give, give," as I had seen him do often in connection with food. I gave him a balloon but the older children snatched it from him. Finally I gave him another, a cat-faced balloon, and told the group that this one was for Padafun alone. They stood back in a circle to watch.

After turning the balloon in his hands for a few minutes Padafun discovered the two conical projections that formed its ears. Immediately he thrust one in his mouth and began to nurse. The older children burst into excited laughter, saying, "He is nursing" (*bebaibe*; literally, he drinks of it). Padafun, slightly abashed by the uproar, withdrew the balloon from his mouth, whereupon the children redoubled their shouts, urging him to continue sucking.

After approximately a minute the somewhat shyer Awoonnai, who 155
was Padafun's age, joined the group. I took the balloon from Padafun and gave it to Awoonnai, who did not suck on it, despite the urging of the older children. Padafun's reaction at this point was interesting. He made no effort to get the plaything back, but threw himself on the ground, where he screamed with rage. Finally I recovered the balloon and gave it to him. For a minute or two he refused to accept it and went on raging. Only when he saw that no one else was taking it and that it lay on the ground within reach, did he roll over, pick it up, and begin once more to suck on it. Strangely enough, when the balloon burst in his face a few moments later, Padafun looked greatly surprised but did not cry or protest.

In view of the picture I have drawn of food difficulties and weaning 153
as they might be interpreted in terms of current psychological theories, one might expect a good deal of finger sucking during this period. Actually it does not seem any more prevalent, if as prevalent, as it is among ourselves. It is to be observed only occasionally for any one child and is far from common to all children. When it does occur, it consists both of thumb sucking and of thrusting the first two or three fingers of the hand, palm downward, deep into the mouth. It is a habit

* A nice, although trivial, illustration is that the natives named my repeating revolver, with whose lethal qualities they were quite familiar, "the gun with six mouths."

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Off Alor Off

153 with which adults make no attempt to interfere. On the contrary, there
is in the culture a highly significant game that actually encourages it.
The game is a version of our "This little pig went to market" rhyme.
152 Taking the child's little finger, the mother says, "This is your young
153 corn. By and by I shall harvest it, roast it, and we shall eat." Taking the
fourth finger, she says, "This is your young beans. By and by I shall
harvest them, boil them, and we shall eat." The game continues, with
the mother naming a different food for each finger. Another version
names a series of foods that the mother will bring back from a burrowing
trip to the market. No matter what version is used, at the climax of the
game the mother thrusts the child's hand into its mouth and says,
"Here, eat them. Eat the seeds of these foods." The difference between
our game and that of the Alorese is in the latter's striking denouement.
The child is stimulated to anticipate food and is then offered an unsatisfactory substitute.

164 It may be pertinent to add here a comment about food, as opposed
to attitudes toward feeding. The diet is high in indigestible carbohydrates, such as maize, rice, and beans, all low in proteins. The beans
grown in Alor are not rich in the latter food element.* Meat is a treat
rather than a staple; eggs and fish are rarely eaten. As a result of diet
and feeding habits, a child probably experiences both "hollow hunger"
(sense of emptiness) and "hidden hunger" (malnutrition). They are
not exclusive, however, since vitamins from food and sunlight are plentiful.

TOILET TRAINING

163 Toilet training is taught gradually and easily. When the child can
walk and "when it is old enough to understand," the mother makes a
point of taking it with her morning and evening when she defecates,
either in the privy or outside at the edge of the village. Also, the child
is watched and told to withdraw whenever it needs to eliminate. Mothers report that children learn within a few months to use the proper
places and to clean themselves with leaves. Children are sometimes careless in cleaning themselves and as a result may suffer a certain amount of
anal irritation.

One mother, whose time sense was a little more precise than that of
most women, reported that she began training her son at nineteen
months, shortly after he began walking. She claims that in five or six

* W. F. Dennis, D. R. Knollman, and A. G. Van Veen, "Voedingsonderzoek," *Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 71:431 (March 3, 1931). For a further discussion regarding the place of meat in the Alorese diet, see below, pages 57-58.

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involves saying their names as small quantities of food are set aside for them. Death feasts are given primarily for parents or grandparents. Such feasts, which may be precipitated by illness but nevertheless give prestige, may reproduce for the individual the positive and negative emotions that cluster around child training and are reinforced by the financial organization.

SACRIFICES

The motif of sacrifice or feeding occurs over and over again, not only in relation to the dead but in relation to all supernatural beings. Feeding is the chief cultural tool for symbolizing social euphoria and for placating supernatural beings. Since the experiences of individual children with respect to hunger and disciplinary relationships vary greatly, it is to be expected that in adults also attitudes toward sacrifice will vary in the "depth or shallowness of meaning in the individual's total economy."* Mangow begins his autobiography with early memories of a period of hunger, interwoven with accounts of his gardening prowess and with details of food taboos, and finally stresses sacrifices associated with the care of his sacred hearth. Tilapada begins the story of her childhood with tales of quarrels. She interprets subsequent anxiety dreams as warnings that she has not placated the proper spirits, but she continues to neglect them. One man is conscientious and regular in making food sacrifices to his familiars, another neglects them until illness indicates that he has angered the supernaturals.

Individual childhood experiences in respect to hunger and discipline may find modes of expression in institutionalized fields, and certain institutions are reinforced because of the personal emotional content that can be directed into them. One must be careful not to use such total as sacrifice and childhood experiences as exclusive causal sequences. It would be ludicrously antihistorical to say that childhood feeding habits gave rise to a system of sacrifice in Atimelang. They have merely reinforced and made significant to many individuals that widespread Indonesian custom. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that obedience was expected of children, that running away was a means of avoiding disciplinary harshness, and that children conformed against their wishes only when overwhelmed by a superior force. These are the essence of most Atimelangers' attitudes toward sacrifices and death feasts. As a rule they are offered only when the external pressure is such that *it* means preserving the health, prestige, or well-being of one's family.

I suggest that it would be very difficult to eradicate sacrifice so long

* Quoted from Sapir, in *Language, Culture, and Personality; Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir* (Menasha, Wis.: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 1941).

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as its symbolic content can be so high. Any institution that may be invested with high emotional value because of patterns of child training is not one which can be lightly legislated out of existence. The implications of such relationships bear not only on the problems of the diffusion of culture and the persistence of traits, but also on applied anthropology as it is envisaged by enlightened colonial administrators. Head-hunting could be stopped almost overnight (page 131) because child training had been toward deflecting hostility into wealth manipulations rather than physical violence. Physical violence broke out only when finance failed to ease strain in interpersonal relationships. There were in addition substitutive devices at hand. Trying to eliminate sacrifice would, however, be a very different matter, and, in fact, there has been singularly little headway made by missionaries in that direction. Furthermore, Christianity with its magnification of the parental image may have failed to make inroads because paths leading in that direction had not been worn deep in the personality of the Atimelang child.

THE HEREAFTER

These speculations upon the emotional content and significance of institutions were precipitated by a discussion of the feasts necessary for the final dismissal of ghosts from the village boundary. It is really at this point that significant interest in the dead stops. Perhaps this corresponds with the Atimelanger's poor memory for genealogies. When the dead are no longer potential sources of danger and when they are no longer being named in connection with sacrifices, they are lost from memory. What happens to this second soul no one could tell me; whether it rejoins the other soul in the village of the dead, below or above, no one seemed to know. In addition, there is another place where the dead are supposed to go and to live underground. This is a low, uninhabitable coral island, called Haminruku in the Abui language, which is off the northwest point of Benkleng Bay. It is quite obvious from all this uncertain and fragmentary material that the Atimelangers are not interested in structuralizing any of these vague and contradictory speculations. There may be a rare individual who is concerned with such matters, but, if so, I failed to discover him, and he would in any case be aberrant in that respect. Again, this reinforces the argument that the Atimelangers are not concerned with speculative constructs or the nonmanifest. Even the village of the dead seems to be no more than a reflection of earthly life. It is called Subiek, or Sbiek, and is presided over by a figure named Karfehawa (literally, Kar-pig-jaw). The location of Subiek and the identity of Karfehawa were completely nebulous to most informants. Rilpada came nearest to giving a coherent account.

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it is this circumstance, together with the implied discipline connected 153
with sex, that makes possible the development of an Oedipus complex. 593
The social role of the father is appreciated very much later in life, at which time it may be despotic. He can arbitrarily claim any independent possession of the child and use it for his own ends. In marital arrangements the father is the one chiefly to gain by the sexual value of his daughter. We have thus in the father an individual whose rights over the child are strong but who gives the child practically nothing. The father's control over the children is apparently unequally divided between the sexes; a daughter, by whose marriage the father has something to gain, is more likely to remain in his power than a son. Sons, however, must feel some hostility toward him because of the sexual advantages he enjoys. The young man can have sexual relations only at the risk of incurring financial penalties. This factor must reinforce the already divided feelings toward women that the young man has derived from relations with his mother.

An extremely important point in the relationships of parents to 153 ●
children, and one that has a direct bearing on the absence of inflation 841
of parental image, is the almost complete lack of reward systems. According to the general principles of psychology, a child can endure frustrations provided certain compensations are made or certain rewards given, either within a short enough time after the frustration in question or expressly related to it. In Alorese culture we have a frustration-reward balance which is extremely poor, and this can only add to the submerged hostility toward the parent. The role of the sense of shame as a basis for the superego is much less satisfactory than more concrete forms of punishment. It lacks the specificity so necessary for correlation with an act which is disapproved and it furnishes no quantitative evaluation of the degree of disapproval. Frightening the child as a disciplinary measure is perhaps more specific—that is, it permits closer connection between the offense and punishment—than shaming, and in this culture can only have the effect of heightening the already high degree of anxiety and of increasing the amount of aggression.

The importance of all these factors is the specific role that they play in 153
superego formation. The tonicity of the superego is maintained by the capacity to internalize the parental ideal. And this in turn is facilitated by the anticipation of rewards. The absence of reward systems means, therefore, that the internalization of the parental ideal must be defective. 593

As regards the siblings we have a unique situation. Children who 857

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Test score: 6 years. This performance needs little comment. The fact that Kokomani, after succeeding in Year VI, was not able to carry over her experience to the next test indicates rather poor planning ability. I should suggest some emotional instability.

Dr. Porteus' procedure and his own summary have been excerpted from a letter accompanying the scored tests.

"I am surprised at the high level of the men's performance. The average of 18 scores was 12.76 years, which would give them an approximate average IQ of 91. If, however, two 6-year scores obtained by men who evidently had a very imperfect comprehension of the test were omitted, the average would rise to 13.7, with an average IQ of 97. Such a high average would seem to indicate that the Maze is comparatively independent of schooling.

"My comments on the quality of performance were quite independent of your notes and comments. I was very careful not to read any of these until I had examined and made notations on each test performance. Of course, I was at a great disadvantage in not being able actually to observe the test responses, so that in some cases I could not tell whether the mistakes were due to impulsiveness or to mental confusion and anxiety. Some of the things that I looked for were control of the pencil, nervous reactions at points where a decision had to be made, the place where the mistake occurred, and the like. As far as I can see, the main difficulty that unschooled individuals experienced was due to overattention to the task of drawing between the lines. The individual who was preoccupied with the manipulation of the pencil was apparently prevented from spending as much time in planning his course. Once the initial difficulties were got over, the unschooled cases seemed to do very well.

"Generally speaking, there was a great deal of evidence of dogged persistence and determination to succeed. In some cases, however, I felt that the individual believed that his prestige would suffer if he could not solve the problem, and in such cases there was a tendency to cut across the lines to the nearest opening, even though the individual knew perfectly well that it was against the rules of the game.

"The women's performance was decidedly inferior to that of the men. There were quite a number of cases in which there was evident misunderstanding of the nature of the test. Excluding four records below six years where failure was evidently due to inability to understand what was required, the women's average was 9.43 years, which would give an approximate intelligence quotient of 67. This poor showing of

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153 the women corresponds with what I have found in my experience with native peoples. They are less willing to attempt the test and seem to think that it represents a task that is outside the feminine province. Only two of the group reached a 14-year level.

125 "Your results are not perhaps strictly comparable to mine, as the conditions of testing were somewhat different. Your subjects had the advantage of an interpreter and you also modified the procedure by marking the point of exit in each test. This, I think, would make the tests somewhat easier. I suppose the fact that you did not give four trials in the 12- and 14-year tests was due to a lack of test blanks. However, while the conditions were more difficult in that respect, it was compensated for by the fact that you allowed some trials to continue after a mistake had been made.

"I think that your group shows a persistence that was even greater than that shown by the Australian aborigines."

These comments, plus certain supplementary data, can in part be tabulated as follows:

125 No. of Cases	Age Range	IQ	MA	Combined Count of Homocompre-hensions
153				
Men 16	18-45	97	13.7	1
Women 22	19-48	89	9.83	4

157 The unsystematized comments made by Dr. Porteus following each 114 individual's score cannot be considered on the same level of precision or accuracy as the IQ scoring, but are of considerable interest because they were made with no knowledge of the people or the culture and therefore represent "blind" diagnoses. In some individual cases these semiliterary comments of evaluation are so acute, judging from my knowledge of the individuals, that it seems desirable to attempt some kind of summary of them. Readers may not agree with the manner in which I have categorized some of the terms employed, but in any event they will be able to reorganize them as they choose.

157

Negative	Men	Women	Positive	Men	Women
I. Nervous and anxious..	7	7	Confident	1	1
Apprehensive of error.	0	1	Improved in confidence	3	0
	–	–		–	–
	7	8		3	1
II. Poor planning or none	1	7	Planning	0	0
			Foresight	1	0
			Thoughtfulness	1	0
	–	–		–	–
	1	7		4	0

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Results of the Porteus Maze Tests

Negative	*Men*	*Women*	*Positive*	*Men*	*Women*
III. Overambitious	0	3	Alertness	0	1
Hasty	1	3	Prudence	0	0
Impatient to succeed	1	0	Stability	0	0
Reckless	0	1	Persistence	1	3
Impulsive	4	7	Concentration	0	0
Quick change of mind	0	1	Determination to succeed	1	0
Goal without study or effort	1	0			
	-	-		-	-
	11	15		7	4
IV. Slow to anticipate change	4	4	Adaptable	1	1
			Ability to learn by error	1	1
Slow to adapt	1	1	Correct overconfidence	3	0
	-	-		-	-
	5	5		5	2
Total	21	24	*Total*	12	7

In view of the questionableness of such a tabulation, I have made no attempt to calculate percentages or to spin fine-drawn analyses. But certain gross tendencies may legitimately be noted. For example, qualitative factors that seem to make for the successful completion of the test are markedly few in women. This is of course to be expected from their lower intelligence scores. It is simply a way of restating their intelligence performance in terms of emotional characteristics. It is also evident that for both men and women the predominant factors that interfere with efficient performances are anxiety and a general lack of steadiness. Despite this the men's results are relatively high, which indicates a good general level of intelligence. One wonders whether the financial problems that preoccupy them resemble sufficiently the problems of the Porteus Maze tests to account for their high score.

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Y157
125

Stimulus Word	Delayed Response	Perseveration or Irrelevancy	Total
9. bis (liar) soul	10	03	03
40. dream	0	1	0
42. invoke	0	3	11
3. foreign enemy	7	3	10
35. I think	3	0	03
18. fish	2	3	5
80. his penis	3	1	4
28. (to) fly	4	2	6
48. (to) pay	4	1	5
	36	40	76

Y157 It is interesting that words like *soul*, *think*, *invoke*, and *dream*, which are not concrete, should create delay and confusion. This agrees with word test experience in our own culture when abstract or unusual words are used. The difficulties over the word *penis* were all 5 on the part of men. Three of these men had also given aberrant responses to
X157 the word *vagina*, and all 5 were men who ranged from unsuccessful to
115 only moderately successful financially. The responses, including those
153 of 3 husbands and wives, are tabulated below and may be suggestive of personal difficulties.

	Responses to Stimulus Words	
	Vagina (*penis* is normal response)	*Penis* (*vagina* is normal response)
I, Ilirua	penis	wild pig testicles
Tilapada, his wife	remove woman's loincloth	lust
Atafani	many	urinate from
Kolang, his wife	kill, eat	vagina
Alorkomaa	penis	stomach, teeth
Kawainus, his wife	penis	vagina
Malawa	water	kill, eat
Fulangi,* his sister-in-law	buttocks	his tall cogadoon
Pedikafali	shoe (perseveration from stimulus word *fish*?)	his, or man's him

* Village gossip accused this pair of illicit relations. Malawa was about 25 and still unmarried. He lived in his brother's household. His brother was almost most of the time. Malawa's response to the stimulus word *fever* was *food*; to *village boundary*, *wander outside of*.

X157 It would seem from this tabulation that men are more vulnerable than women in respect to sexual adjustment and that the vulnerability is related to their own organ. This is of course only a guess. It does show, however, the possible value of a word association test in opening up for the field worker areas of individual and group problems in adjustment.

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157 attitude of passive acceptance, resignation, and submission? The kinesthetic interpretations, however, are found among neglected and deprived, as well as among overprotected and indulged, children in our culture. Furthermore, among Swiss population groups the M are common among the Bernese, who are more introversive in type than the Appenzellers, in whose tests the M are less frequent, rare, or wholly absent; and yet both of them share the same cultural and social conditions. Are the Alorese in regard to their lack of kinesthesias similar to these Appenzellers, who are a more extroversive *sive* extratensive (Rorschach) type? *Non liquet!* The fact is that among the Alorese the Dd are, on the whole, the more frequent the more the black prevails among the colors; that they are an expression of those niggling activities, undoubtedly related to the lack of introversiveness which permits the Alorese no inward concentration of any kind and gives birth to their emotional oscillations in proportion to the degree of egocentric and impulsive affectivity.

Thus the small details, which in egonomics indicate intellectual deficiency, turn out to be the representation of emotional manifestations in the Alorese. I pointed out another angle of the emotional significance of the Alorese Dd when I related them to their astuteness and cupidity. This is very often so. It is the case, for instance, in obsessional neurosis, where the morbid tendency to concentrate on minutiae is exhibited in a too great number of Dd ("*Verschiebung auf das Kleinste*"—Freud) in addition to *pars pro toto* interpretations (Do), both of which mean thought inhibitions in all their shadings. Similarly, the Alorese basic disposition as revealed by the total peculiarities in their Rorschachs, such as the black-white reactions, the surplus of CF and C, the lack of FC and M, must affect in turn their intellectual functioning; and indeed, the kind of intelligence shown in their tests is something *sui generis*, as are the findings with regard to their emotional life. Intellect and its achievements cannot be severed from affectivity.

● 153 If I include, by way of a complex procedure, all the experimental factors representing the components of intelligence so far as they are deducible from Rorschach's experiment, there follows an order of intelligence that almost coincides with that which the ethnographer compiled from her personal observations of these people. The less these experimental factors are taken into consideration, the less is the degree of coincidence. In comparison with my Swiss material it turns out that the lower half of that order ranks on the level of our feeble-minded as

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to the F+%, the W and their quality; the majority of the upper half ranks on the level of our morons. But, with regard both to the representations of emotional life and to the rest of the "intellectual" factors, the total of their findings is widely different from the average findings of our morons and feeble-minded, and the departures are the greater the nearer we come to the bottom of that order. Those remaining intellectual factors are the apperceptive type and the sequence, the percentages of animal interpretations (A%), and the original answers (O%). For the Alorese I counted as an original answer each response that occurs only once; among them, however, we find those responses that are most common in Europeans and Americans, i.e., the so-called popular answers. Only a few, apparently the most intelligent ones among these seventeen male Alorese, reach the level of our average intelligent with an IQ of about 85. At the top ranks Futran the Interpreter (see later), and next to him Mangma the Chief and Johanis. Within the limits of this contribution I cannot say more about this problem; a full presentation of the Alorese intelligence would be a study in itself.

One remaining factor of the whole-part issue which has emotional significance is a special form of the Dd. It is the space figure interpretation by which the white portions of the pictures are interpreted. When these S coincide with many color reactions or better, with a predominance of these reactions over the movement answers, they express outgoing opposition or oppositional tendencies, like defiance, antagonism, argumentative behavior, and so forth. In the Alorese, even though they exhibit, in addition to the dominating block, a greater tendency to concentrate on the white color than is shown by the number of their S (there are white reactions other than S), these space figure interpretations are less frequent than in the normal Swiss (1:3), which is in conformity with the Alorese passive streak. Submission and opposition do not preclude each other but are not in tune with one another. The less frequent occurrence of S is another expression of the Alorese passive attitude.

VARIABILITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

In this section I turn to the individual and some facts concerning the variability of the Alorese. Before giving blind diagnoses for some of them, I have to make a series of statements concerning the ways of getting at the individual's personality and psychological background.

It is obvious that statements of personality diagnosis must be based

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indolence of these subjects. They seem half asleep and tired of concentrated attention; they become listless and disinterested and react slowly; but, all the same, they, of these seventeen Alorese, show the greatest number of responses accompanied by long pauses at nonchalant gestures and by manifestations of discomfort and uneasiness. There exists no longer a direct proportion between bl-wh‡ and black color-shock in the right-hand triangle of the scheme. There is only slight black color-shock in Rilpada, for instance, whose mode of experience is almost average, but more of it in some extreme "extratensives," such as Mangma the Genealogist, the tumukun, and Johanis.

The W— types of the male Alorese, who show a considerable plus deviation from the W average, giving an unlimited number of poor and careless W, and those with a marked confabulatory streak are, without exception, as in Europeans, among the "extratensives" with not too great a number of bl-wh reactions. They are Mangma the Genealogist, whom we know, Maleiaka the Prophet, and Alurkoenai, whose confabulation goes so far that it is sometimes hardly possible to determine what are actual interpretations and what are mere secondary associations. This is demonstrated by his reactions to card VI: "a walking stick (insect; c, W), his head (top), his legs (the flag or flamelike figure at the top), his neck (dark middle at the top), his legs (lateral projections), his anus (bottom), his stomach (middle line), his sword (apparently a dark spot at the basis of the lateral projection), his bow (again the lateral projection), his back shield (upper lateral small projection), his shawl (ditto on the other side), his mouth (repeated)." In a case like this even the number of responses is uncertain.

The intelligent among these seventeen male Alorese are found to the right of the diagonal which runs from the left top corner to the bottom. Most of them are "extra"— Johanis and Stephanus, with the best intelligence except for Fantan the Interpreter, are extremely and fairly "extra," respectively; the tumukun, Nitaniel, and Fanemi, with a fairly good intelligence, are extremely, fairly, and slightly "extra." Only Mangma the Chief, who is about on the same intellectual level as Johanis, is slightly "intro," just as Fanemi is slightly "extra." The least intelligent are on the opposite side of that diagonal. They are those Alorese who are considerably "intro" or fairly and maximally dilated, like Fantan the Chief and Atafani, all of them with a bl-wh‡ of 5 at least. Atafani ranks last in intelligence in the ethnographer's list, whereas an individual among normal Europeans who has as many M and C as Atafani has bl-wh and C would be a highly talented person.

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CF's Alor CF's

[157] [173] The most intelligent among the children is the contrastive "hero" Mangun, followed by the extremely extroversive comedian, and Fanam, the fairly dilated type, who has the most bl-wh, is the least intelligent. It is obvious that bl-wh in comparison to the kinesthesias operates in reverse. The bl-wh reactions run counter to intelligence as in those traumatics where the damage to intellectual functioning is the entire action the more bl-wh occurs in the test. They are, now, as I stated in the section on Alorese affectivity, not sufficient affective stabilizers. Among the remaining seventeen male Alorese are the confabulating individuals, who show only mediocre or poor intelligence; this is again in conformity with every experience among Europeans.

Rilpada the liver and, in particular, Fanam the Interpreter, whose intellect is similar to that of Europeans, drop out of the scheme-plane by reason of their kinesthesias. They not only present a contrast to their people but are also of a different dimension, different from the others in the sense of "verticism." A presentation of the male Alorese including Rilpada and Fanam should be made in a three dimensional arrangement, such as the form of a flat pyramid, four sides of which are given by the triangles of our scheme and of the base of which the kinesthesias are to be found, again to the left and the right of the middle line.

[157] The variability of the Alorese is undoubtedly very great, as follows from the statements in this section. More than that, their variation is considerably larger than in Europeans, also in the normal Swiss. From the test findings their range of variation can be determined in definitive figures for each quality that is measured by Rorschach's experiment.

It seems futile to make an attempt of this kind with thirty-seven Alorese, i.e., with only thirty-seven variants of these qualities. It is justified, however, since for the purposes of outlining the principles no larger body of material is available.

The fact must mean something that, even within the range of this limited material, with only 1201 interpretations which form the basis of all conclusions, extremes are exhibited which do not occur in my three-times-larger material of normal Swiss. Extremes such as the Alorese maximum for the Dd, A%, CF, and C, and the minimum for F+% occur among Europeans only in nervous and mental disorders; whereas to date I have not met the Alorese minimum for A% even within the range of the pathological in Europeans. These extremes concerning A% (which refers to very important psychic functions—see Sex Differences) are presented by two women: Kolmani, whose 15 responses [158]

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[M] are expressed by figures, and in 1 FC, i.e., one of those factors which are the representatives of emotional life, we are confronted with a quantity that has a sort of sub-value since it is a minimum exhibited by a normal European, though apparently not by every American. The surplus of this 1 FC gives the variation range of emotional responsiveness which can be compared to that of other population groups. Two other factors that are never absent in a test are the D and F, the normal details and form interpretations. They are the two factors the average percentages of which differ in no way in the Alorese and normal Swiss (see at the beginning "Quantitative Results of the Test Findings"). They seem to be "essential."

[M] 157 The variation series of the factors which are most vital for Alorese psychology, the W, Dd, F+%, A%, Cl, and bl-whit are skewed or completely one-sided and that of the A% presents perhaps two peaks. It also seems to be so in the normal Swiss, only their W series is binomial, as demonstrated by the following series:

Alorese: $\bar{x} = 8.27$ $\sigma = 4.37$

number of W:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
number of individuals:	0	0	1	4	8	8	12	10	13	12	11	5	7	5	0	1	0	0	0
	0	0	1	5	13	19	31	41	54	66	77	82	89	94	94	95	95	95	95

$q_1 = 6.50$ $q_3 = 10.13$

The quartile (Q) is 2.115 and the standard deviation, as stated above, 3.01; therefore Q : σ = 0.6778 instead of the theoretical 0.6745.

SEX DIFFERENCES

[M] 158 The Alorese show a deficiency of whole answers. Of their 1201 responses there are only 14.4% W to 30.5% W in the normal Swiss. Furthermore, no fewer than 114 of their 173 W are bad, as against only 133 of 817 W in the Swiss, equaling 65.9% and 16.3% W— respectively. A great number of these W— are confabulated, i.e., they are DW which do not occur in normal Europeans. Finally, the combinatory W, i.e., the combination of the various picture parts (see Fausan's interpretation at V), which are mostly WM in Europeans and the expression of true imagination, are entirely missing in the Alorese. It is the quality of the Alorese W rather than their inferiority in number which makes the big difference.

On the other hand, the Alorese produce more than four times as many Dd as the normal Swiss, 16.8% : 4.1%. As bad as this appercep-

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

tive type — (W)-D-Dd, as against W-D in the normal Swiss — is the sequence of interpretations which in most Alorese is out of order, loose, or even scattered. A third important discrepancy between the Alorese and Europeans concerns the kinesthesias (M), which are the indicators of creative instinct and abilities or, better, of these faculties as potencialities. Among the 1201 answers there are only 5 M; this yields a proportion of 0.4% against 9.9% in the normal Swiss. All this must be highly significant for an estimate of Alorese intellect and cultural achievements, unless Rorschach's fundamental statements on the significance of those factors are entirely wrong. 153

It means that the Alorese are not of a theoretical turn of mind. They are as little given to synthesis, to constructive thinking, to synopsis and correlation, as they are given to problematizing, contemplating, and mediating. They are not abstract thinkers and philosophers, and they show no genuine imagination, though they sometimes show in their Rorschachs a kind of pleasure in spinning tales (*Fabulierlust*) but no more; the rest is mere confabulation. It is unlikely that they could build up a well-organized cosmology and cosmogony of their own, just as they are unlikely to show artistic achievements like, for instance, the South African rock paintings; they may show some developments of primitive art, such as carving and ornamentation, in which black should play a considerable role. They are not inventors, and they are far from making any constructive contribution in any field of cultural development. At best they adopt. What they have beyond the strict necessities of life seems to be imported, but it is even doubtful if they make full use of it. It would, incidentally, be interesting to examine Japanese Rorschachs from this point of view.

In comparison with the males the Alorese women exhibit a minus difference as to the W, both in quality and number. They have one third less, namely, 12.2% to 17.5%, and among them there are 72.1% W— as against 63.2% W— in the males. At the same time they produce more Dd which amount to 28.5% as against 24.4% in the males. Furthermore, there is only one among these twenty women who gives a kinesthetic answer. This is 0.14% out of their 705 responses in comparison to 0.8% in the men, and that single M is the M— which I mentioned previously. In respect to their intellectual achievements, though perhaps not so much as to their intelligence itself, these Alorese women, therefore, would be inferior to the males. There is no woman who could reach the intelligence level of some of the males, like

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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153 Mangma the Chief and Johanis, not to mention Fantan the Interpreter, who afforded the measure that I needed to make out the rank list of the male Alorese. The findings of the two best among the women are:

159

Kawaimani

Number of Responses: 17

W	8 (4—) = 29.6% ± ?	M	0	
D	17	F	10	(9—)
Dd	2 (1—) = 7.4% ± ?	F(C)	1	
	—	FC	0	
	27	CF	3	
		C	3	(1 bl)
			—	
			27	

F%	55.6
A%	37.0
apperceptive sequence	W-D in order
mode of experience	0 + 1.5 : 6.0

Kolani

Number of Responses: 18

W	3 (+) = 17.6% +	M	0	
D	14	F	14	(6—)
Dd	1 (—) = 5.8% —	F(C)	0	
	—	FC	1	(+), V (bl)
	18	CF	2	
		C	1	
			—	
			18	

F+%	57.1
A%	72.2
apperceptive sequence	W-D in order
mode of experience	0 + 0 : 3.5

The difference is self-evident. Fantan's superiority, aside from his two kinesthesias, lies in the much better W and the higher F+%. The apperceptive type is the same. The two top-ranking women prove again the previous statements concerning intelligence and black-white reactions. These reactions are absent in Kolani, and Kawaimani exhibits only one.

157 On the other hand, the women are more individualized. There is no

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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157 On the average each of the women exhibits almost one black-white reaction more than the men and shows a bl-whΣ that is one-third greater. This surplus over the men still exists after eliminating the one woman who gives among her 62 answers a maximum of black-white responses, namely, 7 bl-whF and 7 primary bl-wh, amounting to a bl-whΣ of 17.5. It is in keeping with this fact that the black-white and Dd correlation which I mentioned in a previous section stands out more in the women than in the men, as is shown by listing the individuals in whom a minus or plus deviation from the average bl-whΣ meets with a minus or plus deviation of the Dd, and vice versa.

The women also show more FC, most of which are Fbl and Fwh; or better, they show a greater tendency to produce interpretations which possibly may be FC or Fbl-wh. They are 2 FC (1?) + 11 Fbl-wh (4?) against 2 FC (1?) + 1 Fbl in the males. Exactly one half of the females exhibit at least 1 FC or Fbl-wh, almost one third of which are questionable, whereas FC or Fbl-wh are given only by one sixth of the males. This difference in the test must show in a better responsiveness on the part of the women. They are, on the whole, more squeezed and timid, which is manifested in their Rorschachs by the surplus of bl-whΣ and black color-shock, but after getting over their initial uneasiness they are more apt to give emotional response. Once their confidence is gained they are capable of better rapport than the males.

There is, further, the difference of A% and perseveration which cannot be measured like the greater part of the experimental factors but the degree and intensity of which can be gathered from the records. The women's A% is higher than that of the males, namely, 43.7 : 36.9. The percentage of animal interpretations is an indicator of stereotypy, of steadiness and stability, endurance and stamina, which are reduced or missing in previously mentioned anxiety hysteria where the A% is seldom above average. Among fifty cases picked at random the A% rises to 50% only three times, and only once drops as low as 15.4%. Perseveration, which results in a lack of variety of interpretations, means monotony and is much more marked in the females than in the males. On the other hand, confabulation, which occurs only to a small extent among the women, is more common in the men; there are no tests among the women which resemble those of Malelaka the Prophet, Mangma the Genealogist, and Alurkomai. The women are, on the whole, mentally less alert and less quick; often they do not see [153] beyond their noses. However, they are more industrious; they do not shy away from work as do the males; but they stick more to routine ways and stay more in grooves and ruts.

3:DuBois B-5 (1868-1939)1940 OP5 Alor OP5

613 476 A more usual outlay is for the building of lineage houses. This is the joint responsibility of all the descendants in the male lines of a designated forebear, and the houses become the center of ancestral sacrifices. To build them, much heavy labor is needed, and in this labor the whole community is invited to help. In return the [437] helpers are feasted, and that means both buying pigs and slaughtering one's own. Since there may be a dozen or more such feasts in the course of erecting a lineage house, construction may progress in short stages over a period of years to allow for the necessary accumulation of pigs.

437 764 602 The death feasts are another object of expenditure. When a man dies, certain of his kin, the descendants of his mother's brothers, contribute the shroud, grave services, pigs and mokos. These preliminary feasts and services occur during the first eight days after death. Then, anywhere from a year to twenty years later, two return feasts must be given at which the mother's brothers' descendants are repaid at high rates of interest, which must be agreed upon by negotiation. They may range as high as three hundred and four hundred per cent. Obviously not all the dead get such elaborate financial treatment. The small payoffs on the burial rites for children or young men and women may be made as a side issue when feasts for their more ● 153 important kin are given. The bookkeeping involved in these elaborate and long-drawn-out transactions must be carried in people's heads. There is no system of writing, not even a system of tallies, to keep track of their complexity. One man who gave such a feast summarized the transactions in connection with that ceremony alone. He had fifty-seven creditors and debtors involving two hundred items to remember. This was certainly no mean intellectual feat. I should hesitate to maintain a causal connection, but it is true that the singular accomplishments of the Alorese in practical financial matters are paralleled by an equally singular lack of interest in what we should call abstract thinking or theorizing.

583 606 The largest, most persistent exchange relationship which a man establishes in his lifetime is with his wife's family. Marriage is in no way a religious or a ceremonial affair. It is essentially financial—the establishment of a system of group exchanges. There is first of all a bride price in mokos matched by a dowry in mokos. The dowry, however, is only about a third of the bride price. These exchanges are not paid all at once, but gradually over a period of many years. The girl goes to live in the boy's house when he pays the first and largest moko. After that the

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